6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Conference at Many Glaciers Lodge in Glacier National Park. Six of the governors who visited the encampment were honored by adoption and given names, and the Governor of Virginia was selected to respond for the others. He began by remarking that the people of Virginia felt a special and warm regard for the Indians. "If it had not been for the help of the Indians the Jamestown settlement would not have survived that first winter." A Blackfeet standing beside me gave me a dig in the ribs with his elbow and said, "that's the day we lost the war."

The encampment also provides the opportunity for other forms of social expression. Medicine bundles are opened with attendant prayers, dances, and face-painting. Men may be "captured" to become members of the Dog society, an honor that must be paid for in goods or cash. People visit from tepee to tepee, drink coffee, eat, and talk. Sometimes one or more of the elderly Indian-oriented leaders will provide a lunch of boiled beef, bread, salad, doughnuts, cookies, cake, and coffee to all who wish to come.

By midafternoon a stick game or two gets under way near one of the concesion booths behind the tent area and usually continues until dawn. Sometimes known as the "hand game," this is a popular and widely known Indian gambling game. All that is required is space, two poles, planks, or timbers placed about three feet apart parallel to each other, two "bones," or short wooden cylinders about ½ inch in diameter and two inches long, one banded and the other plain, and some plain sticks about ten to twelve inches long, usually ten to a side to use as markers. Two teams line up facing each other behind each pole. One person starts the game by intently shuffling, showing, and after many flourishes hiding the bones, one in each hand. His team chants and drums with sticks on the pole in front of them to give him support and to confuse the opposition during the hiding. Finally he extends his hands so that one of the players on the other side can choose by one of several signs which hand holds the unmarked bone. If the "guesser" fails to choose correctly, his side forfeits one of their marker sticks and the "hider" tries again; if he guesses correctly, the bones and roles change sides. The game is over when one side wins all of the marker sticks. Bets between individuals, both participants and onlookers, are placed before the game begins and other bets are made frequently on the results of individual guesses. There are many variations in the procedure that I have not mastered. A bettor gets a lot of action for his money whether he fully understands what is happening or not. The drumming, chanting, joking, as well as the strain of waiting for the outcome of a game in which large sums of money are at stake, contribute to an exciting time.

People spend the rest of the time during the encampment doing the necessary chores of camp living and enjoying the pastimes appropriate to sex and age—the children play games, older people work on costumes, play blackjack, visit, loaf, or go into town.

In spite of this being a community enterprise with fairly large crowds that are attracted to it, the people in relatively continuous attendance are the Indian-oriented. The people who camp on the grounds and participate in the festivities include and appear to be like the men I interviewed and classed as Indian-oriented. In retrospect, I would sort the onlookers into four categories: (a) Indian-oriented spectators from many parts of the reservation who spend much time on

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

for playing the stick game as well as pool and cards was a regular gathering place for the people of Heart Butte until it burned down a few years ago. The weekly stick games have moved to a new location on Badger Creek.

The horse races attract some white-oriented horse fans, but the majority of the crowd is Indian-oriented. Races are occasions for Indian rivalry and above all to enjoy each other's company. The stick games have a regular but more limited following and with few exceptions, players and observers are Indian-oriented.

Song services are meetings of the singing groups and serve both as practice sessions and as forms of social gathering for the people involved. The sessions are uually held in the home of one of the singers, a relative, or a friend. A few kinsmen and friends—young and old, men and women—attend and the evening is spent in singing and drumming old and new songs. The sessions break up at the discretion of the singers and may be followed by a late supper.

Bundle openings and curing ceremonies (according to informant and newspaper reports) are religious rituals to which guests are invited. The reports indicate that those in attendance are always people of Indian-orientation. Some are believers and others are sympathetic but noncommitted members of the participants' families. The activities on these occasions are determined by the ritual of the particular bundle or cure, but involve singing, drumming, prayers and some dancing by selected participants. The owner of the bundle regularly paints the faces of those in attendance as a mark of prayer for their well being. Bundle opening ceremonies are followed by a feast. One such ceremony held at Starr School was described by one of the neighbors:

> The beaver dance given by Jim White Calf was held at the home of Jim and Amy Whitegrass despite the terrific storm and sudden cold. There were many people from Browning out to see this rare dance, that has long been forgotten. Among those attending were Mr. and Mrs. Fish Wolf Robe, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Horn, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Many Guns and Mary Ground besides the many people of our community. The dance began with the rythmic [sic] beating on hides to certain songs. The bundle was opened by Jim White Calf and Maggie Many Hides. The bundle consists of many skins of useful animals and small birds that are of help to the owner. The beaver for "energy," the otter for "speed," the ermine for "beauty," the swan for "grace" and the little birds for their endurance of the cold in the winter. The people were then painted and eight danced in a most graceful manner. Maggie Many Hides, Mary Ground, Isabelle, Cecile Horn, Mrs Fish, Annie Old Person, Mrs. Tom Many Guns all danced like beavers with sticks in their mouths and hands. The usual meal was served after a monstrous amount of energy was put into the dancing and singing. A delicious berry soup, boiled meat, fried bread and a dessert were consumed by everyone. At the end of the dance one certain lady gets up and dances with little small deer hooves and punches a man in the crowd and it goes on until everyone is dancing. It was a most enjoyable occasion for a grand time was had by all (*Glacier Reporter*, October 12, 1961:6).

This "dance" was "long forgotten" by the reporter and others in the community but not by the bundle-owner and the named participants, several of whom owned or had owned bundles themselves. Here was a gathering of Indian-oriented people conducting an Indian ceremony. Some undoubtedly experienced the deep religious experience of a beaver bundle opening, others had a "grand time" at a "most

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

enjoyable occasion," a social gathering of people who shared interests in aspects of Indian culture.

The social grouping of Indian-oriented people gains further support from observations of informal clustering. At the Indian Days encampment, and at the social dances in particular, it was relatively easy to watch for the Indian-oriented people and to notice with whom they spent their time in informal groupings—visiting, chatting, watching, and relaxing. Most of such visiting was with people of similar orientation with only occasional mixing among men of differing orienta-

The forming of the tepee circle for North American Indian Days.

tions. Other observations and reports further support these conclusions. Visits to homes, reported visiting among families and friends, and observations of grouping on other occasions reinforced the pattern.

In 1962 I wrote:

> Perhaps the most visible visiting pattern for the Indian-oriented people is the very regular daily congregation in sidewalk groups. From late spring to mid-autumn as many as eighty people can be seen standing or sitting at fairly predictable locations around the town. The location is determined by people's inclinations and by the requirements of sun, shade, or shelter from the wind. People pass many hours a day, visiting and watching the passers-by. White-oriented men are on the street but stop for only short periods of time and then move on, but the Indian-oriented man and his friends make this a major avocation.
>
> If the weather is bad the visitors form smaller groups and move into the nearby

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Several of these men own medicine bundles that they open on the proper occasions, and they help conduct the ceremonies at the bundle openings of other people. A few know curing practices and rituals and conduct curing ceremonies even though they and their patients also go to white doctors.

Some of the chiefs serve on the Honorary Tribal Council and receive a small per diem for attendance at council meetings. Members of this honorary council are chosen frequently to accompany delegations to the state and national capitals to lobby for or against proposed legislation that might affect the tribe. Both in the council and on such trips, the chiefs see themselves as spokesmen for the full-bloods and take every occasion to speak out, usually in Blackfeet, urging harmony and trust, and requesting more help for "the People"—the full-bloods.

The people, in general, take pride in their old timers but want them to exercise their influence outside of the council. They are handicapped, too, as political leaders because they speak little English and so fail to communicate directly with many of the people they seek to influence. They wish to arrive at decisions by the traditional council method that requires lengthy discussion and unanimity. The dominant culture and society within which they must act, the white and white-oriented leaders that must be influenced, do not allow time for this method of resolving issues. The men are extended the courtesy of free speech, but this does not include giving much attention to what they say.

These men have attained this status by the routes of wisdom, skill, and generosity. Wisdom and skill have developed through their experience. Their fathers, as youths, saw the last of the buffalo days and told their sons about that life, so their tie with the past is real. The chiefs have lived through ¾ of a century of the changes described in Chapter 4, so the wisdom they profess has a basis in experience with the white man. They were active participants in the trials of change, having tried many of the programs for economic readaptation with varying degrees of success. In the course of these economic ups and downs these men accepted some change, but also tried to maintain the traditions as they knew them, a difficult and dangerous job in face of the strenuous efforts of the government to stamp out these traditions. Their ability to do this has made them both the advisers and symbols they now are for numbers of people.

The high status position of these men is fairly stable but still depends on the numbers and support of their followers. Their claims to status must be validated by continued service and acts of generosity. They are not wealthy, but they have shared what they had in better times and perform services presently that validate their positions.

The chiefs do not present a united front, and are still rivals for additional prestige. They criticize one another and are gossiped about by other people. One old man will dismiss the tales of another as "lies." Another will be criticized for telling war stories. "He once put a story in the paper about how he scalped a Crow [Indian]. People laugh at him. He shouldn't tell those stories, they don't belong to him. My daddy told me not to tell these war stories, they're the property of the people who did the things."

The chiefs, then, are honored for their ability to symbolize tradition and to advise about and maintain these traditions. The knowledge and experience that

[i.e., "chiefs," the least acculturated high status stratum--Analyst]

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

tools and utensils, but she was also responsible for the movement of the camp equipment. She dismantled the tipi, caught the reluctant dogs and tackled them to the travois, loaded the travois, and kept the lively dogs in line on the march. Often she carried heavy loads on her own back. At the end of a hard day's journey she could not rest until she had pitched the tipi and fed the family. Furthermore, as indicated above, women rendered active assistance in the co-operative buffalo hunt. In this toilsome life youthful beauty was short lived, and there was little comfort in old age. When they became bent with age and too feeble to follow the moving camp on foot, they were abandoned to face death alone.

Men were hunters, warriors, and craftsmen who made their weapons and their ceremonial and religious equipment. In dog days, when swiftness of foot and physical stamina were decided assets, young men must have been proud to have had the reputation of being good runners who could overtake a buffalo or an enemy on foot. Individuals who achieved outstanding war records, or who possessed powers to call the buffalo or heal the sick, must have enjoyed a distinction among their fellows denied the average man.

Probably many religious beliefs widely held by the forest Algonkian tribes survived among the Blackfeet in dog days. Undoubtedly they shared with the forest tribes a basic belief in the ability of supernatural birds or animals to communicate some of their sacred power to young men who actively sought it through prayers and fasting. This power, they believed, would aid and protect its human beneficiary throughout his life. Men who received power from the same animal, such as the bear, beaver, or buffalo, formed cults and performed ceremonies they believed were sacred to that animal. Perhaps the most important of these animal cults in dog days was that of the beaver, for it was the beaver medicine men whose rituals charmed the buffalo into the corral and brought food to their people in time of need.[13]

[13] Clark Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. VII, Part 2 (1912), 283. Wissler considered the beaver ceremonies the oldest of the many Blackfoot bundle rituals.

773 824 [783] In the mythical tale of Scarface, the protagonist enjoyed the comradeship of Morning Star, who took him to his lodge in the supernatural realm. Scarface met Sun and Moon, who were offended by his foul odor and decided to wash him in a smudge of cedar. After proving his worth by ridding the neighborhood of seven deadly crones, Sun agreed to grant Scar- 343 face's wish that his ugly scar be removed. He built four sweat lodges of one hundred willows each; and, as the successive rituals were completed, his deformity gradually disappeared. Scarface finally emerged as a handsome young man, identical in feature to Morning Star. His scarred face was miraculously changed to that of a diety.

783 [824] Incensing procedure varied slightly among ceremonialists, but the general formula was well defined. In the making of a smudge, hot coals were removed from the fire by means of a forked stick of choke cherry (Prunus virginiana) about 60 cm. long. The coals were laid in a small cleared place (the altar), and whatever was going to be used——sweet grass, [788] alping fir——was prayerfully positioned on top of the coals. The rising smoke was cupped in the hands and was carried, with brushing motions, from the head to the shoulders and down to the feet. The songs sung during the cupping and brushing were created especially for this purpose. The procedure was repeated four times, to symbolize the cleansing of the entire body. Ceremonial artifacts, too, were incensed. (The prescribed uses of incense for specific ceremonies are given in the Annotated List of Plants.)

343 783 824 The sweat lodge offered another means of purification——one that was rather an ordeal. Wands of willow (Salix spp.) were placed with both ends in the ground, so as to form a dome. The floor of the sweat lodge was covered with sage (Artemisia ludoviciana), which served to cleanse the initiates during the sweat. Variations in the construction of the sweat lodge were dictated by the society or bundle to which the sweat lodge belonged; this will be discussed later.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The regalia consist of a string of deer ankle bones painted red to symbolize the deer, or that the bearer "holding these bones is likewise holding the feet of the deer." When hunting they may wear on the head a pair of rabbit ears, painted yellow, to give speed and endurance. In the members' individual bundles are also weasel and other skins for which there are special songs.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the ritual is the use of hypnotic power. There are four special songs for working this charm. In our collection of myths concerning this cult, we gave the narrative of a Piegan who came under the power of these songs.[1] Thus, it is said that a member painting his face yellow, taking up one of the skins and binding it on the head can hypnotize a person by looking in his eyes steadily and then making a sudden upward movement with the hands. After a time the operator wakes the subject, after which he is an undoubting follower of the cult.

We learn from Professor A. F. Chamberlain that the Kootenai have a black-tailed deer dance but for want of full published data cannot go into a comparative discussion. Naturally, the Blackfoot have the transfer and bundle conceptions concerning this ceremony as with other organizations.

Mr. Duvall secured a good account of the cult from Tailen Ashley, a mixed-blood Piegan, who introduced it among his people:—

The dance is ceremonial and was introduced from the Kootenai. Those who do not believe in the dance and ridicule it, are thrown into a trance by those who have the power, and are then awakened and become followers. Each man and woman member has a song of his or her own and some have more. The songs are bought from members and a horse or other property paid for them. Sometimes new songs are dreamed.

The dance is held in the evening, generally lasting through the night. Sometimes it is held four nights in succession. It may be given at any time, and is sometimes given the night before hunting, when it is usually dreamed where the game will be found. Sometimes a vow is made to give the dance for a sick relative. About midnight a feast is made. When the dance is given for a sick person all the dancers pray for him. If the members do not wish to dance they must remain standing to show their respect to the rest of the dancers.

At the beginning of the dance a smudge of sweetgrass is made near the rear of the house or tipi. The leader holds both hands over the smudge, places his hands near his ears, one hand on top of his head, his right hand over his heart, over his mouth and nose, and then takes his place. All the members repeat the same movements. The leader rises and stands in the center of the floor, and all the members stand around him facing the center. He shakes a bunch of deer hoofs, and prays. Then he dances in place, then turns and dances around to his right, the others following him in single file, jumping up and down to represent deer. He stops, prays, and then dances as before. Then the man next to him takes his place and goes

[1] Vol. 2, 169.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

794 and a smudge made. The tongues are boiled all day and in the evening added to the
796 berries and blood. During the day, a stick to which is fastened some sage grass at
either end and calico or a piece of skin at the middle, is tied to a tipi pole as an offer-
782 ing to the sun.

788 The leader takes his place at the rear of the tipi to the left. A young single man is called upon to tend the smudge, light the pipes, cook the soup, etc. In payment, prayers are said for him. The pipes are lighted with four service berry sticks about a foot and a half or two feet in length, which are lighted in the fire.

The smudge place is not cut out but white earth is spread over an irregular surface. Four buffalo dungs are placed on the west side with sage grass on top of them and at the right is placed the smudge stick. In the center is placed a buffalo dung on which the smudge of sweetgrass is made.

Four undecorated black pipes are used. No metal may be used on the pipes. The man who gives the feast fills the pipes while the assistant lights and passes them. Four rattles, similar to those in the beaver bundle ceremony are used. The guests sing the songs of the different medicines owned by them. In all each one must sing sixteen songs, four at a time. Anyone who has owned the medicine-pipe may sing four of the medicine-pipe songs; as many of the beaver bundle songs as one wishes to sing may be sung; but of other medicines, only one song may be sung. One song is allowed from each of the societies. The man sitting on the south side of the tipi starts the singing and is followed by the one on his left, and so on. One of the rattles is used by the person singing while the other three are used by the three people next to him to his left. Before singing, a smudge is made, he tells of what object he is going to sing, the amount paid for it, and a short prayer is said. When a man owns no bundle and has no song to sing, he merely passes the rattles to the next person. When medicine-pipe men join in the ceremony they bring with them their own utensils, *sweet-pine* needles for the smudge, etc. During the feast they are served first. When the owner of the smoking-otter joins he is given a place near the smudge place, opposite the leader; the medicine-pipe man is seated to his left. While the smoking-otter owner smokes, sleigh bells are shaken four times and everyone must desist from touching his moccasins. The smoking-otter owner uses juniper for his smudge. At the beginning of the ceremony the iniskim songs are sung.

The man who made the vow goes out to bring in the sun offering, making four stops in his circuit around the tipi. It is spread out and the moon and sun dogs painted in the center in black. On it is placed the tobacco board. The leader rubs the board, steel, and knife with sage grass. He brushes the right side of his head, his shoulder, and his arm, and then the left side with the sage grass. The same movements are repeated by all the men in turn. While the man who made the vow holds the tobacco and knife to cut it, the leader holds his wrists, and another man counts four war deeds. Meanwhile the leader motions as if to cut the tobacco. The leader paints the face of the man who made the vow and his family, with red paint, a black stripe around the face, and a dot on the bridge of the nose. He cuts the tobacco, fills a small pipe, and hands it to the leader who holds the stem or mouth-piece over the smudge and then the bowl, twice for each. Prayers are said to the sun, telling of the offering made, and asking for mercy for the man who gave the feast. The moon, stars, earth and all the animals are also appealed to and then the pipe is passed around for everyone to smoke.

The four rattles are held in the smudge, four times, and shaken, between each time. Then the singing commences and continues until each man has sung sixteen.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

songs in groups of four. If tobacco is left over some is tied up in the sun offering and some given to some old man, who prays over it. Should the supply of tobacco give out before sixteen songs are sung the ceremony ends. 794 796 788

When a smudge is to be made, the assistant takes the smudge stick which lies to the north of the smudge, goes back toward the door and around the fireplace before he makes the smudge. Each time the pipes are filled, the assistant hands them to some old man, before lighting them. The old man holds the pipe in the direction of the smudge, pointing twice with the bowl and mouthpiece alternately. Then he prays. 782

The berry soup is served at the close of the ceremony. First the assistant takes four pieces of tongue and gives them to the leader. He holds up a piece, between his thumb and forefinger, prays to the sun and stars, and places it at the south side of the smudge. Thus he places a piece at each corner of the smudge. He places a piece on the west and east side, and the fourth piece in the assistant's mouth. Before eating the soup everyone holds up a bit of the tongue and prays.

After the ceremony is over the leader hangs the sun offering in a tree or other place. The leader may give the man who made the vow the right to lead in such a ceremony by simply saying, "You have paid me so well. You may lead such a ceremony and do as I have done." The ceremony seems to be connected with the sun dance as tongues are used and offerings made to the sun. [432]

The Stick Game Dance.

Within a few years a new association was introduced from a neighboring tribe passing under the name stick game dance. *It was reported by Duvall* during the winter of 1910–1911 as having just come to the notice of the tribe. He made no investigation of it but later James Eagle-child attended several ceremonies, participated in some and interviewed the founder. In a previous paper it was stated that rituals were still being created and developed. This is a splendid example and offers therefore an unusual opportunity for a functional study. The stick game outfit to which this ritual is attached has been used by the Piegan for some years and seems to have originated with the Gros Ventre from whom they usually obtain them. As developed in our paper on ceremonial bundles, it is difficult for a Blackfoot to look upon any curious object used by persons without a feeling that it is "medicine." Thus, we are told that when a Gros Ventre exchanges a game set for a horse and other property, whatever power the set possessed is transferred to the new owner. The suggestion is sharpened by the fact that certain special songs are used in the game, for according to Blackfoot conceptions the transfer of the bundle containing the set gives also a presumptive right to the songs. 796 [177] [178] [121] [177] [121] [432] [424] [422]

The facts of the case seem to be that a Piegan, named Fish, once owned one of these stick game sets and later had a dream in which a ritual was 776 524

353 778 bundles, in the morning, or when they brought the bundles back inside, before dark. On nice days the bundles were hung from wooden tripods, out behind the tipi. They kept a special forked stick beside this altar, and they used it to pick the glowing coals out of the fire for making their incense on. They used 788 824 sweetgrass for incense, and they always had several green braids of it on hand. Medicine pipe people use sweet pine for incense instead. Sometimes my grandfather made incense with sweet pine, because he was a leader of medicine pipe ceremonies. Generally it was my grandmother who made the incense in their tipi.

MY GRANDMOTHER'S COOKING

252 My grandmother did all her cooking over open fires. On very hot days she liked to make her fires right outside the tipi and cook over them. Usually she cooked inside her tipi. She had a piece of chain hanging down from the big wooden tripod that stood over the fire. There was a hook on the end of [415] the chain and that's where she hung her cast-iron kettles. She had several kettles, including those from the Hudson's Bay Company, that held about a gallon and a half of water, or maybe two gallons. They were the first kind of kettles that Blood women got, way back a hundred years or more. She hung the kettle of water right over the open fire.

The first thing she made was tea. While the water was getting ready to boil she would get her flour ready to make bannock bread, which was a main item on her menus. She would knead up a nice batch of dough, enough for about three pieces of bread. By then the water was boiling. She took it off the fire and she made her tea. Then she put potatoes and dried meat into the rest of the water and hung it back up over the fire. Every once in a while she would put on more wood to keep the fire going good.

When she was ready to start making the bannock she would

during these midsummer nights this far north on the plains. 512

While I combed and braided my hair, SikskiAki lit a small fire of cottonwood twigs so that we could have a coal for our morning smudge of incense. With the forked stick, she picked up a piece of one of the twigs and placed it in the center of our altar. She sprinkled a few sweet pine needles on the coal, but sparingly, for the trees that give us this holy incense are usually found only in remote and scattered mountain places. A little spiral of smoke again marked the place where the hot coal and the dry pine needles met. The pungent odor brought the Good Spirits to us through our sense of smell. With our hands held in the smoke we again took the Spirit, brought it to us, and accepted it into our minds and bodies by rubbing ourselves from head to toe. We prayed: 788 512 [372] [824] [778] 782 512

HiYo Good Spirits who are here with us! You who make up everything that is Good and holy! Let us take your Holy Power and use it well. Let us be thankful for being aware of the goodness of your presence. . . . Let us think of your goodness as we go through this day, so that this day will be good for us. HiYo Natosi, our sacred Sun above! Help us to see the goodness along our paths. Let us be thankful for being able to see you again this day. Let us feel your warmth in our bodies, Natosi, and let us reflect your warmth in our food and in our homes, so that our families may be healthy. HiYo Earth, our holy Mother! Let us feel your strength beneath our feet as we walk upon you this day. Let us be strong and safe as long as we remain close to your body . . . all of you Good Spirits! Let us go through this day with respect and holy thoughts, and let us learn from our mistakes and trials, so that we may end this day with happiness. HiYo! Hear me!

□

After we finished praying, SikskiAki took our sacred Bundle outside and fastened it over our 778 512

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. . . . On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended. . . . Near the cross piece on the pole are four transverse black bands about a hand apart. . . . The members bring their bedding and occupy their respective places during the entire four days. 575 796 346

There are six men attached to the society, but all the other members are women. Four of these do the singing. The remaining pair act as messengers and attendants. . . . Each woman has a red-painted backrest stick planted before her seat to support her headdress. When they sleep they lie with their feet toward the center. Just to the west side of the center pole is a fire. When food is brought in and handed to members, they pass what is given them to members on the opposite side. Each member has an individual smudge altar before her seat. . . . Along the sides next to the sitter are rows of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Sweetgrass is used for smudge. The headdresses must always be smudged four times before they are placed on the head. 575 796 353 [237] [824] [292] [788]

Men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the forehead and nose with a fork at the top . . . to symbolize the tipi pole in the center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint. 575 796 [782] [302] [822]

The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the southeast. In going out members use the nearest door but return by [346]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115A]
[p. 114-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Headdress of a Bull member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Glenbow Museum.

Headdress of a Bird member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

[Nighttime Ceremony, 1890's]

was made on a large coal of fire, not on the altar but between it and the fire. A feast of tongue soup was handed around and Moon prayed alone. He was followed by all the others, except some late comers who were handed their food and then prayed, as usual holding up a little piece [of tongue] and at the end of the prayer shoving it into the ground [as an offering]. Old Moon began the songs at 2:15, all the men and women joining in the gestures, comprising holding all the fingers up, tips touching, and the sign to take something and put it on the breast. While singing was in progress, a filled pipe was handed to the oldest man, who, holding stem to the sun, prayed in a loud voice, the others singing throughout. Squaws were in the meantime putting red paint on faces of children who were to be painted afterwards by Moon. Singing ceased and another pipe was handed to Moon, who turned the stem quite around. Then, pointing the stem up over the fire, he prayed and afterwards pointed it to the earth. . . . One Spot sat at right of Moon and Three Bulls at the left. One Spot now took off his shirt, moccasins, leggings, and presented them all to Moon, also a piece of tobacco. He retained only his blanket, which he now wrapped around himself. Moon renewed the songs, One Spot let the blanket fall and sat upon it naked [with his breechcloth on, I'm sure]. Moon took a piece of fat meat and with many waves and signs from altar to One Spot and all over the latter's body, he handed to him, who rubbed it all over the head, arms and legs and body then handed it to Moon, who, after passing it all over his own body, passed it to the left and it went around. Moon now took red paint and, with some signs, rubbed it on his body, arms, legs and all, the others remarking with laughter how fat he was. One Spot turned his back and Moon rubbed paint all over it. One Spot's hair was tied up over his head and Moon painted his face all red. One Spot's son, a child of six or seven years, was brought forward and stripped to the waist . . . painted by Moon. . . .

796 [262] [782] 796 533 [788] [276] [782] [302] [852] 796 302 788 [522] [852]

[p. 347-A]

[Nighttime Ceremony, 1890's]

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[302]
[852]

Another child was painted, then One Spot's grandson, Jerry Pott's child was brought in, his face already painted red. The Mother's face and arms were painted red, then the child's face; in the child's hand was a quarter which was given to Moon, who again renewed the singing at 2:55 with gestures. One Spot, Moon and Three Bulls did the gestures. Moon took One Spot's right hand in his, straightened out the forefinger and made it point to the ground, and then up to the sky. Then, still holding the hand, it took up one of the feathers from off the sage bunch and, One Spot holding it, crossed his arms on his breast, the feather against his shoulder. Moon took the feather from the other and passed it, quill end down, once around One Spot's head, then gave it to him again. Again he took the hand and made the feather sweep around the little mound of clay back to his shoulder as before, then took the left hand and did the same, sweeping the little mound half done. [The feather represented the Power of the wind as it was scattering the mound, which represented a cloud. None of these symbols are placed on our altars of today.] Then he took one of the moccasins, turned the heel inside out, levelled the mound of sand and handed the moccasin to another man to finish the job. Singing, Moon took hand of One Spot and with feather marked out a pattern on the sand. [The pattern had a round circle in the center, to represent Sun. A circle on each side was for the Sun Dogs, while one above was for Morning Star. A crescent at the bottom stood for Night Light, or Moon.]

Moon took One Spot's hand and made it take some black paint from the sack and sprinkle a little in all of the marks on the sand, still singing. The man who had helped before now took bag and put more black in the marks. While he was doing this, Moon was busy picking off pieces from a root, which, when he had enough, he mixed with grease. Singing, he guided One Spot's hand to and took from bag yellow paint and scattered a little outside of the marks in the sand.

. . . No yellow was put around the top spot. 796
[The yellow represented daylight; Morning Star 788
was left black because he is not visible in the
daytime.]

Moon put an eagle feather in his own head 796
at back and gave directions to the assistant who 788
went out and, going around to back of lodge by 782
east, took down the pole bearing the offering.
While he was out, Moon put a coal of fire in the
top spot and guided One Spot's hand to put the
stuff he had been mixing, and which he gave him,
upon the coal of fire [as incense], singing and
waving the hands to the coal fire [to take the
incense smoke]. They sang to the man outside to
come in, and brought in the offering and gave it
to Moon, who took it, praying, and laid it on the
sage brush. Moon now, with black paint mixed [302]
with grease in the palm of his hands, put a black
spot on the bridge of One Spot's nose, on each
cheek and on his chin and then made a broad
streak, or ring, around each wrist and ankle. Then [352]
the offering was waved by Moon on each side of
One Spot's head, back, and body; and a child was
brought up, face painted same way and wrists and
ankles, offering waved . . . also Potts' wife and
child, and Calf Robe. . . . Moon now guided
One Spot's hand with black paint to mark little
short stripes at the top and bottom of the blanket
of the offering. Moon always touched the bowl of
the pipe to ground before smoking it. Moon and
One Spot held up the offering there and singing,
an old man called off two coups and then another
old man called two. Towards the middle of the
songs they lowered top of offering to the altar
waving the points of feathers to the figures in
sand, and, at intervals, the squaws would let up a
yell. Finally, they with the feathers at top of offer-
ing, sweep out the figures entirely, and Moon
then placed the sage in little bunches leading to
the door . . . assistant stood up and, carrying the
offering, Moon guiding his first step, walked out,
stepping upon the bunches of sage, of which
there were four. [The offering symbolically con-

tained all the prayers, at this time, and was taken out and tied to a tree or left amid rocks. The bunches of sage were used to keep the bad Spirits, which was the purpose of this ceremony, from remaining behind to trouble the occupants of the lodge any further.] Tea and berries were now handed around. Ended at 5 p.m. 796 789 782 [272] [262]

That ceremony was similar to our Nighttime ceremonies of today, except that it ended after the details of the introduction were completed; there was no singing of transferred songs. 796

Here is an interesting excerpt from Wilson's notes on a ceremony that took place on July 28, 1891. It illustrates the earnestness and the faith of the participants. [127]

A woman . . . entered the lodge . . . stating that a relative of the devotee's, a brother who was ill in an adjoining lodge, wished to partake of the sacred facial decoration. As the man was in an advanced stage of consumption the priest made no answer at first but grumbled in an undertone to the effect that people must think him possessed of superhuman power. After a moment's thought, he gave a reluctant consent and the sick man entered and was painted as the rest. . . . The priest afterwards explained to me that that sick a man should not have requested the painting of himself, because the immediate object of the sacred face-painting was to ensure good health and long life to the participant; and that the painting of the face of a person who was visibly dying was in his eyes almost an act of sacrilege, hence his reluctance to make a mockery of a ceremony the efficacy of which he, the priest, firmly believed in. 796 302 [751] [784] [771]

Wilson himself once used offerings in our Old Way to overcome a problem. This story comes from Atsitsina. 789

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 349-B]
[p. 348-B]

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By the time it was dark, all had arrived for the ceremony, having been dropped off by young relatives. In the Old Days, ten to twenty participants could be expected for a Nighttime ceremony, but today only half as many showed up. 796 [177]

When all were seated, the relatives in the kitchen started passing out the food. Each bowl was filled with chunks of boiled meat, eggs, oranges, apples, rolls, and fresh-baked cookies. Most of the food was to be taken home in paper bags for the Old People's grandchildren. 796 431 [262] [415]

Each of us took a small piece of meat between our first two fingers. The Old Man handed the incense tongs to the orderly, SikskiAki's young nephew, who took a coal from the wood stove and deposited it in the middle of the earth altar. The Old Man sprinkled sweetgrass on the coal, guided by my hand. As the sweet-smelling smoke rose he held his piece of meat into the air and began a prayer: 796 782

HiYo holy Spirits, help us as we are gathered with you again. Hear our prayers tonight. Hear the songs that we will sing for you. Give us your Power and help our children and our grandchildren. . . .

To conclude his prayer he placed the meat as an offering at the edge of the altar and said, "Oki, Earth Spirits, take this food and bless my life so that I will always have enough to eat." All of us joined him in praying out loud and we passed him our pieces of meat which he deposited as offerings to our Earth Mother.

Then we ate a little of the food before we took a break and went outside.

After we returned, we got settled to begin the first part of the ceremony. Incense was made first. Then the Old Man took some of the sage from in front of the altar and peeled the leaves from the stems. He coated his hands with kidney fat and mixed it with sacred red earth. Then he rolled the leaves into a ball, all the while praying 796 798 [824] [237] [782]

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

to remind us of the Powers of Earth and all that grows upon it. When the ball was ready, he turned toward me and dropped it into my cupped hands. I rolled the ball between my palms and then brushed it, slowly, twice down each side of my body, while praying to ask that the cleansing Spirits of the sage purify my body and replace any evil in it with the natural goodness of the Earth. When I finished, I passed the sage sacrament to the person at my left, and so it went around the room. More incense was made, and then the young helper was instructed to go out and bring in the offering. He covered himself with his blanket for this sacred duty, and went out to bring in the holy object from its quiet, sacred resting place.

The object represents the Spirits who are with us, in our life here on Earth. Fastened to it are symbols that recall to everyone the Powers of the Universe. For instance, the frame of the offering is made of two willow sticks tied together in the shape of a cross; the willows represent trees and bushes, as well as the material from which we build our sweat lodges; and the cross the sticks are tied in stands for the junction of the four sacred directions, which is the place where we stand, each of us, no matter where on this Earth we are. Fastened on top of the cross, the willow stick tied to form a circle speaks for the roundness of our Sun, our Moon, and our Universe, the sacred circle in whose honor we arrange our lodges and our camps. Fastened to the circle are seven black-and-white eagle feathers. Seven is our sacred number, as there are seven moons in each season, and seven stars help us tell time at night and remind us of all the other stars in the nighttime sky; the feathers are black-and-white to remind us of day and night, good and bad, life and death. Bunches of sage are tied to the ends of the arms on the cross because sage is pure and holy in the prairie-life of our Old Ways, and represents the sacredness of all the plants on Earth. Black and red pieces of cloth are tied to the arms of the offering with buckskin thongs; the thongs remind

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

us of the animals that supply us with meat and hides, just as the feathers remind us of the birds that fly, and the cloth represents the life of the People on Earth, red being for holiness and black for victory. It is the People's gift to the Spirits of nature. 796 782 778

Outside, the helper said, "Hoi"; he took down the offering and stood toward the east, holding it in his hand. The Old Man began a song whose words tell that the sacred offering will be brought in, in a holy way. After the song, everyone was quiet. Then we heard the signal from outside again. The Old Man began the same song again, everyone joining in this time. Four times we sang, each time the helper standing at one of the four directions to let all the Universal Powers have a symbolic look at the offering before it was brought inside. In Sun-wise direction he went around the house, and before the fourth song ended came inside and handed the offering to the Old Man. 796 782 533

The Old Man prayed with it, giving it a spiritual welcome into the midst of our gathering, then put it down. He rubbed kidney fat between the palms of his hands, and took some sacred red earth. The young man sitting holy took off his shirt and kneeled before the Old Man. The Old Man sang the song for the red paint, while covering the boy's face, shoulders, chest, arms, and wrists with it, smearing the last over the boy's hair in ceremonial blessing. 796 302 788 [778] [533]

He wiped the red paint from his hands and took the black paint pouch and a fresh piece of kidney fat. Singing the song for the sacred black paint, he dipped two fingers into the pouch and mixed the powdered charcoal with the grease in his palms, as though he were washing his hands with a bar of soap. With his blackened thumb he put a mark on the boy's temples, and his nose, then traced a black circle all the way around the boy's face, over the red paint. He also put black circles around the boy's wrists. The Old Man then told him to turn around in a Sun-wise direction to bless him with the offering, rubbing it [533] [778]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 355-B]
[P 354-B]

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twice over each side of the boy's body. The boy then put on his shirt and continued to sit holy. 796 302

Next, some of us came forward who wished to have the Old Man's blessings by being painted. First went Grandma, the helper, and Mike Yellow Bull. Then Wolf Child and I went around the altar as the last ones to be painted. 788

After that, Mark Old Shoes told about four sacred offerings he made in the past, as the Old Man sang the fourth song of the ceremony. During the song the Old Man held the offering toward the east, calling out for Sun to see it, then tracing Sun's path to the west. He did that four times. Then he handed the offering to the boy next to him, who prayed with it and handed it to the pipe attendant, Mike Yellow Bull. He untied the offering and removed the cross-arm to which the cloth was attached. The cloth was spread out beneath the brass-studded tobacco cutting board. The rest of the offering was tied to the wall, above the Old Man's head. 796 788 782

One of the raw tongues was placed on a cloth in front of the Old Man. He took the right hand of the one sitting holy, dipped one finger into the black paint, and prayed while marking a line down the center of the tongue, doing this four times. Next, the boy was given a knife and file to hold, while the Old Man guided him to symbolically sharpen one with the other. That constituted the asking and receiving of ceremonial permission for cutting the tongues and tobacco. When this was done, we took another break. [412]

After this second break, we made incense again, then filled the pipes from the large mound of smoking mixture on the cutting board. The largest pipe was filled first and handed to Atsitsina, who held it four times toward the incense, twice with the bowl-end and twice with the mouthpiece. One by one, the incensed pipes were then leaned against the large piece of dung, which had been secured to the right of the altar by three nails driven around it. Everyone was careful not to move the pipes resting this way because they were considered to be sitting holy. 796 788 276

Using the small pipe, the Old Man was the first to smoke. He asked me to take his blanket and cover his body from the top of his head down. The tobacco was lit with the glowing end

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of a willow stick. He then blew offerings of smoke to the Spirits who dwell in the Above, in the Below, and on Earth. Everyone was very quiet, for the Old Man was symbolically smoking with the Powers of the Universe. He blew smoke in various directions until all the tobacco in the bowl had been smoked. 796 788 276

The main part of the ceremony was now ready to be started. Incense was made, and the Old Man held four rattles over the sweet smoke. He shook the rattles, to prepare the Spirits for singing, then passed them to the man who was farthest to the right. The others sang a song while he prayed and told about one offering. In the same way, each of the four men sang four rounds of the song and called out four offerings. 796 788 533 [534]

The four men prayed for the other participants, calling each one by name, and their families. As each one heard his name, he placed his hands on his chest, signifying that he was taking the prayers to his heart. [782] [201]

When each man finished praying, he sang his first four songs, representing the most Powerful Medicines transferred to him during his lifetime. Atsitsina and I were the only participants who had not belonged to the Horns; our first songs were for our Medicine Pipe Bundles. Medicine Pipe Owners were allowed to sing four songs for the Bundle they were keeping. Beaver Bundle Owners could sing as many songs as they wished for their Bundle. All others were allowed to sing only one song for each sacred thing that had been transferred to them, even if that object had a great many songs. 796 793 778 533

As a current Medicine Pipe Owner, a special ceremony was held at my turn to sing for the first round. A blanket was spread to the left of the altar. The Old Man sat to my left on the blanket. A coal was deposited at the rear of the altar and I held a pinch of sweet pine needles over the hot coal, the Old Man's hand on top of mine. He began with a prayer, then sang four Medicine Pipe songs, slowly lowering my hand with the in- 796 793 783 533

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first. The songs were for Iniskims and Iniskim necklaces, painted tipis, Sun Dance necklaces, for the duties of Weather Dancers, for parts of Beaver Bundles, and for lesser societies such as the Crazy Dogs and Pigeons. 796 533 778

The Old Man started the third round with a song about the Power of birds. During the song, he waved his right hand in the air to resemble the sailing of a bird. Most of our songs used to have symbolic hand and body motions to accompany them, but few of our People still know these or bother to use them when they are singing. But the ceremony was not yet over. 796 533 201

After the last song of the fourth round, someone brought in a bowl with tongue taken from the sacred blood soup. The eight pieces were used to ask for blessings. The one who was sitting holy took one piece from the bowl; taking and holding up that hand, the Old Man called out, "Oki, Natosi, Sun, this is for you. SikskiAki and Natosina promised to feed you this when they asked you to help AnadaAki, and now they are fulfilling their promise." 796 788 782 [262]

He lowered the boy's hand and let the piece drop at the edge of the altar. They took up another piece, which was offered to Moon in the same way. They did the same with a piece offered to Morning Star and a piece offered to Earth Spirits.

The remaining four pieces were held up, one at a time, in the same way, as the Old Man called out, "Oki, Sun, this young man is going to eat with you so that this meal will be holy. Give him your strength and guidance." He then pushed the piece into the boy's mouth, and it was eaten.

After the Old Man did this with the four pieces of tongue, the boiling kettle filled with the sacred soup was brought into the room. It had been boiling all night long, from the time the tongues had been cut up. The sacred soup is a mixture of tongue, serviceberries, and blood. The pieces of tongue are first boiled in water. Then the blood is mixed with flour to form a smooth 796 788 252 [262]

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

paste, which is stirred into the boiling water along with the berries. A dark, creamy soup results. Each person's wooden bowl that night was filled. 796 788

Incense was made for the last time, and each person held up a piece of tongue and prayed for strength and long life for ourselves and our families. Then we ate. [252] [782]

Three more "soups" were brought out—stewed apricots, rice and raisins, and stewed tomatoes. Four soups, one for each round of singing. [262]

The Nighttime ceremony was over. Through the window came the first sign of the new day, a thin, light line separating the dark, starlit sky from the horizon. The songs were over, the pipes smoked out, the prayers all spoken; the People left for home, all as One and all happy.

□

On my way home, I paused on top of a hill to watch Sun rise, breathing the universal air that all of us must breathe, that makes us all a part of the Universe. To the never-ending Spirits of this Universe I gave my prayer of Good Thoughts: 123 782

Okohe Natuyetuppi! HiYo! HiYo Natosi—HiYo KokomiKisoum—HiYo Ksachkomituppi! Now then, holy people! Hear me! Hear me Sun! Hear me Night Light! Hear me Stars! Hear me Earth Spirits!

HiYo all of you Holy Powers in the Universe. I am thankful to be able to see those holy mountains where I will soon be in body and Spirit. Help me to grow closer to you in this Way that I have been learning to live with all of you Powers who make up this Universe. Let me learn to be humble and to feel small so that I may see the greatness of your Powers, so that I may treat them with respect, and look to them for strength while living on Earth.

HiYo Natosi! Let me continue to see you as you make your daily path across the sky. Continue to let me see your light so that my path

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

796 Being a good and true woman, like all others who give the sun dance,
793 she spurned him. Next day she told her husband the whole story. He
837 was very angry. He was not satisfied with the confession she made, but
783 suspected that she must have given the young man some encouragement. So when all the medicinemen and women had come into the tipi to rehearse the songs as usual, he made a statement of these suspicions and as he had two wives, he proposed to have them change places.

[756] The medicinemen pleaded for the first wife because they believed her innocent, but the husband was obdurate. So the second wife was called in to take the place. Then the first wife said, "It was I who saved this man's life when he was ill. I made the vow to give the sun dance and he got well. I have suffered much in fasting, all for him. Now he disgraces me before all the people. But I will put my virtue to a test. If I am true, I have already acquired power."

[782] She filled a pipe, went outside and standing now on the east side of the
[821] tipi, then on the south, the west, and the north, she addressed the sun.
[789] The day was clear, but soon after the woman entered the tipi, thunder was heard. A storm came down with hail and blew over many tipis. But in spite of these proofs, her husband was obdurate and the second wife went on with the ceremony.

796 Not long after the sun dance this same man became ill again. Finally, as
755 a last resort, he called upon the first wife to save him again. This woman
593 told him to call upon the other woman as he seemed to have so much faith in her. So he died and was properly punished for so unjustly treating his faithful wife.

The Procession to the Dancing Lodge.

796 In our account of the natoas ritual we told how the father, son, etc.,
778 emerge from their tipi. The file is headed by the father, followed by the
793 son, next the mother, then the medicine woman followed by women bearing
788 the tongues. The father and the son are muffled in blankets (robes); the latter walks with bowed head, leaning heavily on a staff and bearing over his head a wild rhubarb stalk.[1] The medicine woman wears the natoas on her head, an elkskin (often buckskin) dress and an elkskin robe, with the digging-stick on her back. For a staff, she uses one of the smudge sticks. The women in her rear bear parfleches containing the tongues, together with blankets and other ordinary objects. Two or three old men act as

[534] [824] [262]

[1] Scar-face is said to have made a whistle (fingerlet) of such a stalk. The pith of the growing plant is sometimes eaten for food.

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca 1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

conductors, or flankers, keeping the way clear of spectators, etc. The procession moves slowly and by stages. The four principal personages in it keep their eyes upon the ground. The course is southward past the entrance (east side) to the dancing lodge, around the south side, the rear of the shelter and entering from the north side. Here the medicine woman remains until the dancing lodge is raised at sunset, when she returns to her tipi and breaks her fast with berry soup. The father and the son go to a sweathouse after which their responsibilities also end. During the continuance of the ceremonies in the sun lodge, the medicine woman cares for the natoas bundle, now her property, until transferred to another, but is otherwise free to do as she likes. She usually remains quietly at home receiving guests and resting.

The part of the medicine woman is truly a sacrifice. She and her husband must pay liberally everyone called upon for ceremonial service directly connected with the tongues and the natoas ritual. They must also pay a considerable amount of property for the natoas itself. To give the ceremony means the sacrifice of all personal property. On the other hand, there is compensation, aside from fulfilling the vow. Her relatives are very proud of her since she is so virtuous. She is highly respected by her husband and family. In a measure those who "take the tongues" are also respected. The medicine woman may act as the mother in a future sun dance for which she will receive presents and she may eventually realize something by transferring the natoas to another. Should anything go wrong during the ceremony, the weather be unfavorable, etc., people will look with suspicion upon her and say she must have lied in her confession to the sun. Should she become ill or have deaths in the family, the same charge will be made.

The Offerings of Cloth. After the procession headed by the father and he is in position at the west side of the dancing lodge, offerings of cloth and clothing are brought up by the people. A man making such an offering hands the father a filled pipe and the cloth. The father holds the pipe and offers prayers for the giver and lights and passes the pipe to other old men sitting around. The cloth he lays in a pile. Then he paints the giver: first the face is smeared over with red, then black spots are daubed on the cheeks, nose, forehead, and chin, four in all. A black circle is marked around each wrist. Women bringing offerings and pipes go to the mother who prays for them and paints their faces red with a black spot on the nose and a black circle around the face. There is also a black circle around each wrist.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

000 the rain has washed out the tracks of the stolen horses. No way of knowing which way the thieves went with them."

"But I have to make an attempt to recover them, so what do you advise?"

"Well, the war party may be from any of a half-dozen different tribes, but more than likely they are Assiniboine Sioux. If so, they no doubt crossed the Marias not far below here, and are heading to pass the south foot of the Sweetgrass Hills on their way home. Slim chance to overtake them but you can try it."

"Will you go with us?"

"Yes," Kipp replied. And then to me: "Best that you go back to the fort. Tell my brothers-in-law to ride out and see how our bulls are doing."

I was glad enough to get in out of the wet. Comes-with-Rattles, Red Eyes, and Takes-Gun-at-Night grumbled when I gave them Kipp's message—said that the bulls were all right, did not need looking after—but, scolded by their sister, Double-Strike Woman, Kipp's wife, they saddled their horses and rode off down the valley.

The storm lessened into a windless drizzle of rain. Early in the afternoon our bull herders came hurrying in, greatly excited. In the second, southside river bottom below, they had found one of the bulls killed with an arrow, and its tongue, liver, and some of its ribs missing. Then, near it, in the heavy timber, they had come upon a war lodge, a temporary shelter of poles and brush, in which a war party had rested and broiled the meat. The beaded pattern of a pair of worn-out moccasins that they had found in the lodge proved that, without doubt, the party had been Assiniboines, and also without doubt, the ones who had made off with the army horses.

So Kipp had been right in his conjecture that the horse thieves were Assiniboines. It was possible that he might lead the soldiers
● 788 onto them, and they would fight. Kipp's wife, his fine Mandan mother, and her close companion, Crow Woman, got together and prayed Sun to keep him safe. The afternoon dragged on. Dark night came and the drizzling rain continued, and still he did not appear. More and more anxiously, fervently, the women prayed for his safety.